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It is believed that if a newly married girl has an itching sensation in the vagina while visiting her father's house, her husband will come to her the next night. Similarly, if a young husband is away from his wife, for example while grazing buffaloes, and he has an involuntary erection, this means that he will enjoy his wife within a day or two.

Sometimes a wedding is postponed a few days if the bride has a menstrual period immediately before the planned date. This is not because of the probable inconvenience at consummation, but simply because she cannot be allowed into the house until seven days after her period owing to a pollution taboo. And as we have suggested, a bride generally does not sleep with her husband immediately. She is made to sleep with other children in the family or other members of the household until her next period. Only then will the consummation occur, because the parents may want to make sure the girl was not pregnant prior to the wedding. Otherwise if they are quite certain she had a period a week or two before the wedding, and she is considered old enough, the parents may permit the consummation quickly. Even so, it is usually impossible for the bride to be deflowered until the third night because she is busy with a ceremonial visit to her own father's house and village, or with those relatives who are still visiting her. On the fourth evening however it may be possible to put the couple in a separate room or another house—a widow's house is easily vacated for this purpose. The groom goes to this "bed-house" after supper and waits there while some women persuade the bride to go and join him. Usually she is shy, and even if she is eager to go she pretends to be shy. When the shyness is genuine it is because the marriage has been arranged, and the bride does not know how her husband will behave. Some girls, and even the occasional youth, are so ignorant about things that they do not know why they are being sent off to a separate room together. Such an awkward situation can soon lead to divorce, or to further sexual training: an informant explained how he was asked (by his wife) to have a gentle intercourse with his wife's newly married sister, since she had been terrified on the night of the consummation. In general, if a newlywed husband or wife expresses fear of this event, an old woman crushes the leaf of the cockspur flower and makes the person swallow it in milk or water beforehand: this cures the fear.

Badagas believe the hymen exists only until puberty, when it is automatically ruptured by the first menses. (A few girls do not mens-

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853 751 783 A woman affected by a "bad wind" of any kind can counteract it by going out beyond the territorial boundaries of her village and then returning, on the way finding the two plants *moḷḷe muttu giḍu* and cardamom. She should rub them together in her palms, adding a little water and rabbit dung. Then if she swallows this preventive mixture before nursing the child it will not be affected by the "bad wind."

853 759 755 5.5. There are two medicines that can be administered to a mother if her milk stops flowing because of some frightening experience. The first one applies if her baby is less than four or five months old. The therapist sitting with the mother has a whole lime in one hand and with it some sacred ash (*vibuṭi*) or occasionally wood ash. She moves the lime around clockwise (from her viewpoint) in front of the mother, while saying: "If there is any bad air, or if she has had a fright, may the milk now flow!" The sacred ash is then smeared on the mother's brow and she eats a little of it too. Next the lime is cut in half, and the mother drinks its juice. This procedure is followed every morning for three days. If the baby is older than four months another medicine is given instead. Half a glass of the juice of the cockspur flower is drunk by the mother before each morning meal, for three or five consecutive days.

862 5.6. Before weaning the child is already being fed by hand by some relative and this continues until at about four or five years he feeds himself from a separate plate or leaf. From the start of the third month of life, and certainly before the start of the fifth month, the baby is given solid food. In earlier times more than today this was a good quality of little millet; now good rice is more usual. It is mixed with water or cow's milk—but not buffalo's—and boiled in a small pot (*kuḍikke*) used only for this purpose. A pinch of salt is added and perhaps some butter or clarified butter. The baby is given this once daily during the first month of eating, and thereafter twice daily.

539 862 One proverb exhorts people to be generous in feeding enough to the children: "Neither should the rice become half, nor the sister's children become weak." Or sarcastically, "See that person dance with half-empty stomach!" (Metz 1864: 97). Another refers however to the greediness of some children: "If you give a child, which has scarcely spoiled flour to eat, a cake, it will ask sugar to put upon it" (Metz 1864: 96).

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dried further. Finally the patient swallowed the pieces without chewing them first, so that their sharp edges would cut off any parts of the tonsil that remained. The pieces were swallowed before each of the next two meals following the operation. After this the patient just took the ordinary meals, but was advised to wash his mouth out with salty water for one or two days.

757 [825] COUGH (*kemmalu*)

5.29. The blood of a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) used to be given as a throat medicine to children suffering from a cough (Thurston 1912: 85). Today the stem of a peacock feather is used instead to cure a cough or cold in young children. It is rubbed on a stone to produce a minute amount of powder, which is then mixed with powdered rhizome of the sweet flag and a little honey, and swallowed by the child. For babies, however, nothing but a half teaspoonful of honey is given, and for children between one and four years this is increased to a full teaspoonful. Only the honey from sealed cells of honeycomb is used as a cough medicine, although Badagas do use the honey from unsealed cells as a foodstuff.

•755 SINGULTUS (*selamudalu*)

5.30. Someone should blow in an infant's ear to cure its hiccups. If this is not successful, then one blows on the top of its head.

757 825 PERTUSSIS (*kokkare*)

5.31. The flesh of the Nilgiri langur (*Presbytis johnii*) used to be sold in local bazaars as a cure for whooping-cough (Thurston 1906: 271); I have heard that it is still available, although illegally so since the animal became a protected species.

854 755 732 [826] [854] RICKETS (*sotte*)

5.32. If a baby is born with its limbs bent nothing can be done about it, although massage will be attempted in infancy, as we mentioned above (5.10). If it is thought there is no strength in the waist "because of the nerves in the hip," a treatment can be tried. Instead of bathing the baby in regular hot water, some water in which rice or preferably little millet, has been cleaned is kept, and each evening for a week or two this is heated for the daily

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bath. When near body temperature the water is splashed onto the hips and waist by hand, and this area becomes stronger. The baby is not immersed in the water.

5.33. If the legs are weak they will bend when the child begins to walk, and so they must first be strengthened. To do this a long leaf of aloe is needed: all the spikes are cut off it, then it is heated over the fire and twisted tightly to squeeze out the juice. *Hulla majjige* (the name of several species of sorrel) is also ground up and its juice collected. Some salt and a small amount of wood ash from the hearth are mixed in with these juices, and the resultant liquid boiled until all that remains is a glassful of very thick paste. This is smeared all over the baby's legs up to the waist. It is left on, and more of the same concoction is added every morning and evening for the next three days, without any of it being cleaned away. On the third or fourth day the dry paste is cleaned off, and the baby rests for two or three days. Then the whole process is repeated. Four of five such series of treatments are given over a month, and afterwards the child should be able to walk alright. If it still cannot walk properly, however, this means that the bone has been bent since birth and no remedy is possible.

CONSTIPATION (*se:dalu*) 757

5.34. When a small child is constipated someone takes the rib of a tobacco leaf, rolls it between her hands a bit to remove any sharpnesses, and dips it in castor oil (or formerly gingelly oil). Several people hold the child still while the woman gently pushes the rib into the rectum, after which the child eases himself.

ENURESIS (*maggilucce*) 757 755

5.35. Some young children pass small amounts of urine every few minutes and wet the bed at night. If it is a mere infant three fingers wetted with castor or gingelly oil are put in its mouth to suck. A somewhat older child is given a half teaspoonful of the oil to drink.

759 then dropped into gingelly oil, which boils. The material is later taken out and is powdery. About a quarter teaspoonful of this is swallowed and the child will improve.

[164] If however the stomach is extremely swollen and the legs thin, this is because of a *ka:male*. The treatment is then to burn the child's stomach with a piece of glowing iron or charcoal (cf. 7.9).

INFECTIVE HEPATITIS (*bara ka:male*)

164 Chicken-pox, a common childhood disease, is also discussed later (7.2), along with the other diseases that are believed to be inflicted by goddesses.

278 5.38. Rue is used as a medicine for children's fever. "Even the aroma from the leaves tied in 757 bundles and hung inside the house is said to be effective in allaying fever" (Krishnamurthi 1953 : 144).

5.39. Fenugreek is soaked, crushed, and rolled with a little water into balls : these used to be fed to young children who were lean or suffering from "consumption."

PHTHISIS (*so:gano:*)

828 5.40. When a small child falls down and is frightened, the mother immediately picks up a • 755 piece of mud from that very place and touches it 757 to the tip of the child's tongue. This stops the child from being afraid of falling. If a child has been otherwise frightened it must immediately be covered with a blanket and given a steam bath under it, by means of water which an adult pours onto a red-hot knife blade being held under the blanket.

FRIGHT (*anjike*)

756 5.41. Generally it is an old man who knows therapeutic spells, and these are only used to cure 755 children who are feverish and frightened; their 828 symptoms being that they are afraid of the dark, crying at night, having nightmares, or not eating properly. A suffering child is taken to the therapist very early in the morning, since the spells have to be said before the child eats. If the therapist lives a long way from the child, he will

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visit the child's home instead. The man bathes himself, puts on clean clothes, and then sits facing the child, the therapist being on the west side and the child to his east. If the child is restive some old lady holds it. That morning before sunrise, and before any water has been brought to the house, a woman, who must be in a pure state, brings a full pot of water there: it must be from a spring. On the way back with it the woman puts three, five, seven, nine or 11 dead-nettle flowers and three pieces of Bermuda grass into the water. The therapist now picks out the grass and stirs it around in the water while he says the spells. Then he splashes the water from the grass into the child's face, and the child is of course startled. This is done three times, and after the third splashing the child must immediately be moved away to some other spot. He is then made to drink a little of the water from the pot; and the flowers are taken out of it and placed on the child's head. The pot is then carried away and the water poured out in a place where no one will walk.

This is the usual treatment for children aged three to ten. As unweaned infants cannot easily drink the water another procedure is followed with them. The mother brings her baby to the therapist early in the morning. He unties one end of his turban while the rest of it stays on his head, and flicks this end into the child's face as he says the spells. As an alternative to using the turban a twig with three or four leaves on it can be waved in the baby's face as the therapist says the spells.

It is believed that evil spirits may enter a child's body while he is startled or frightened. A therapist can drive such a spirit out by startling the child again. It is probably for this reason that the procedures just described (5.40, 5.41) are followed through (they do not however work with adults). The therapist, usually a man, also says a spell

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which states roughly: "If any bad or evil spirit is in the body, it must go away."

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this purpose the fresh dung of a young cow which has never calved is preferred: Badagas can tell at a glance if it is the right kind of animal because it should digest its food well. Every four hours the therapist removes the thread, lets the pus flow, and when this stops puts the thread back in the hole. Several times a day, when the cowdung becomes too dry, a fresh coating of it is applied. The swelling should cure in two or three days by this method.

MELANOMA (*bippiri*)

6.3. If when the medicine is first applied the swelling is too big to be called a *ne:ga:le*, but it does not have a head on it, then it is a case of *bippiri*. This can in fact get started alongside a *ga : le*, if all the pus is not removed from the latter. The *bippiri* has to be treated with the bark of a tree (details unavailable).

GOITRE (*kaṇḍa ma:le*)

A goitre is punctured with red-hot needles; or else treated with thorn-apple. Other big swellings are usually cut off, especially if they fail to respond to the above-mentioned medicines. During the present century such surgery has been done with a razor, but before that a piece of broken bottle glass was used.

DEPIGMENTATION OF SKIN, OR VITILIGO (*sullu*)

6.4. Patches of white skin on the body are called *sullu*. This is a disease for which there is no medicine. It is caused by the bite of the blindworm (*Typhlops braminus*), even when the patient is unaware he has been bitten.

taddu)

6.5. Another disease which causes dry light coloured patches on the facial skin is *taddu*. Before going to sleep patients put oil on these patches. There is also another treatment: a relative takes a piece of dry cowdung, and rubs or touches it against the patches, while saying a special formula. The important thing is for the relative to be of the opposite sex to the patient, mature but unmarried, and in the relationship of a classificatory spouse—someone the patient might later want to marry (Badagas are polygynous). As this person touches

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602 the cowdung to the patches he says: "I am in the
755 relation of sister's husband to you; medicine for *taddu*." In the case of a woman helper she would change the wording to: "I am related as a brother's wife to you . . ." The formula and the touching are done three times.

757 6.6. If similar patches occur elsewhere on the body they are not considered to be *taddu* and are treated differently, as itches. In the old days this cure involved grinding a leaf of chewing tobacco, mixing it with goat dung and water, and putting this onto the patchy skin where it would dry. If however the patch itself is not dry as in *taddu*, then it is given the more usual treatment for itch.
[262] (Two vegetables, the marrow and the red onion, will cause itching if eaten in large quantities).

164 6.7. Another skin disease is called *a : ne gajji* ("elephant sores"). These are big watery sores on parts of the body which the patient cannot see, such as the back or the cheek. To treat them 757 *ka : vi kallu*, a brown stone, is ground up and 755 mixed with water to form a paste. A sketch of an elephant is made with this on a piece of wood or nowadays slate, and the same paste is also applied to the watery sore once daily for at least three days, during which time it should not be washed off. Each time the paste is being applied the patient stares at the drawing; and he should also stare at it every ten or fifteen minutes during the entire period he is awake during the treatment. If the sore is especially big the paste will be applied morning and evening for several days. Care must be taken that no water falls on the paste. It is allowed to dry on the sore, and with the help of a fire if necessary. After three days the paste can be washed off, but if the sore is still evident another dose of the paste is applied for a few more days. During the entire period of the treatment the patient should not eat any chilies or salt.

ANGIONEUROTIC EDEMA (*a : ne gajji*)

164 6.8. Tinea affects the feet during the rainy season.

TINEA

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(*gore hunnu*) To cure it they are washed clean with hot water and anointed with butter, or nowadays coconut oil, before the patient goes to bed.

ALOPECIA (*bo:le mande*) 6.9. A treatment for baldness is to rub deer's blood into the scalp.

DERMATITIS VENENATA (*bava:ci turi*) 6.10. When women are gathering firewood they are careful to avoid contact with a creeper called *bava:ci*, which grows in the shade of the forest. If it is broken and its juice touches the skin, itches develop all over the body. The treatment is to touch the itching parts with *go:re* (the name of many species; cf. trilingual index), a plant that grows in damp places. After about a week the itching stops.

ECZEMA (*hu:hunnu*) 6.11. Eczema is reportedly treated by grinding up the leaves of dead-nettle and applying the mixture with lime juice to the affected areas (Krishnamurthi 1953: 145). If there is prolonged itching on one part of the body, the skin is trimmed off and then medicine for a laceration is applied.

Lacerations

LACERATIONS (*gaiya*) 6.12. Something intolerable is referred to by the proverb, "It's like filling a wound in the stomach with salt." Another proverb emphasizes the need to take great care of lacerations: "Isn't the wound like an eye?" In general one should not interfere with a wound once it has been treated. First-aid for a cut, if there is no opportunity to get the necessary plants, is to burn an old rag and put the ashes on the wound.

6.13. A cut is not washed before treatment, even if it is on a dirty foot. It may indeed be tied up temporarily with a dirty cloth. Medicines to put on lacerations have changed over the years. Before the British reached the District in 1819 it was customary to use pink marsh balsam or red liberty cap plants. Later, when the geranium had been introduced into the Hills, its younger leaves were used instead. These are ground with salt and two or

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would then try to kill it: if they succeed the patient will recover quickly, but if they fail he will become mad too. The actual treatment is the same as for dog-bite.

6.22. It is unlikely that any Badagas have been killed by snake-bite, and the large python (*Python molurus*) is quite rare. A proverb has it that "A cobra won't kill without finding a mistake." This means that if one kicks a cobra (*Naja naja*) unintentionally it will not harm the man because he intended no harm to it. Badagas believe that snakes on the plateau are not as poisonous as those in the plains; they neither kill them nor go near a dead one (Breeks 1873: 104). If bitten by a snake one should immediately tie a tourniquet of some woman's hair, or failing that a thin creeper, around the affected limb or extremity above the swelling. This will help cure it quicker. (The same treatment is used by the Todas; Rivers 1906: 267.)

Sometimes a *mantravadi* (magician) cures snake-bite by touching a special small black stone against the wound, and then tying it there while he says some spells. Although he goes through this magical process only once it will cure the wound. After the stone has been tied to the patient he must not sleep for 24 hours, and must starve totally for the same period. Following a snake-bite water must under no circumstances touch any part of the body, and of course the patient must not walk through a stream or be in the rain.

6.23. If one pulls a bee sting out at once the swelling is small; otherwise its poison goes into the swelling. In a case of multiple stings the person must immediately pour water over the body or jump into a nearby stream. In a bad case the patient will be lethargic and have fever for up to three days; and during that time he must bathe very often in cold water. After each bath any

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available kind of oil is smoothed over the body, but without hard rubbing.

6.24. A scorpion-bite is more dangerous than a bee sting, though less so than snake-bite. The affliction cannot become too serious because only one or two scorpions might bite someone at the same time. The bite is washed and some oil put on the swelling.

Cranial Maladies

6.25. Badagas have no knowledge of trephining, and perform no brain operations. None the less they do try to treat an aching head by external means. Thus Dr K.I. Simon describes a case of a man aged 96:

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> He developed most excruciating pain in his forehead . . . This poor man got the attack every half-hour or even at shorter intervals and it lasted for ten to fifteen minutes. This goes on day and night. When the attack comes on two young men tie round his head a rope or mull and pull it as tight as they can. Thus this old man falls down on this bed and gets a short relief for some minutes . . . Then I put him on vitamin injections. After two days the pain completely disappeared. (Ketti Medical Mission 1947: 4-5)

For such severe headaches it was usual to tie a woman's upper breast-cord or a piece of cloth tightly round the cranium, and leave it thus till the headache ceased.

164 MIGRAINE (*otte tale*)

6.26. Some people have a pain appearing on the same side of the cranium every day. It starts early in the morning, stops after the sun has passed its zenith, and then commences again the next morning. To cure this, the patient makes an oath to God, in his own home, that he will not eat one

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of the vegetables he has frequently eaten. However Badagas are not in full agreement as to whether this works. Another treatment for the illness involves a therapist. She feels around the forehead on the side where the pain occurs until she can take hold of a "nerve" (sic!) just above the eye. This is then neatly incised with a razor. Despite the bleeding that follows, in most cases, the patient is cured. Sufferers nowadays tend to go to a hospital for treatment, however.

Until early in this century therapists cured headaches by making patients swallow a paste they made from common vetch; now they use such pills as aspirin instead.

HEADACHE (*maṇḍe:ru*)

Ears

6.27. There is no cure for deafness, and so a child deaf from birth will be treated as though dumb. People with wax in the ear may become deaf because they break the drum while trying to clean it. A proverb which relates this fact to the use of another stick as a toothbrush warns, "The teeth are spoiled by not using a stick; the ears are spoiled by using a stick." Nevertheless, the ears are sometimes cleaned out with little sticks, perhaps with a fragment of cloth wrapped around the end: *hasini* is a species often used, and nowadays metal scrapers are too.

DEAFNESS (*kivuḍu*) [732]

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6.28. Earache will pass away, but can also be cured by irrigation. To do this, someone takes a small red chili, cuts off one end and removes the seeds. Using it as a cup, a small amount of any kind of oil is poured into the chili. It is held near the hearth or a flame until it is warm. Then the patient lies on his side and one or two drops of the warm oil are poured into the ear. This usually cures the ache; but if not, and if there is wax inside, the ear must be washed out with hot water.

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Eyesight

732 BAD VISION

6.29. Badagas can test their eyesight with the help of the moon. On the night of the new moon or the one after that a man is asked if he can see a small line on the lower edge of the moon while it is low in the sky. If he cannot see this, his sight is defective. He must then take a leaf of the castor-oil plant or "some other jungle plant," and keep it on the top of his head for a month, after which he is tested again. "This cure has been known to work sometimes," I am told.

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6.30. When insects and other small objects get into the eye, somebody blows on a piece of cloth—such as the corner of a loincloth — and when it is warm he wipes the surface of the sufferer's eye with it.

732 BLINDNESS (*kurudu*)

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6.31. Badagas have no cure for blindness, and if the sight is defective glasses are nowadays the only normal remedy. One can even find ready-made glasses of varying prescriptions in the bazaars. It is generally believed that if one prays to the sun at sunrise while looking into it, vision will remain good. The deaf and the blind cannot enjoy life, as one proverb maintains: "For a man without ears, what use is a musical instrument? For a man without eyes, what use is the countryside?"

164 757 TRACHOMA OR CONJUNCTIVITIS (*keppu kaṇṇu*)

6.32. If the eye turns red, it is because there is too much "heat" in the body: this can be lessened by extra sleep and a change of diet. The patient should also bathe two or three times daily, using the bark of pellitory as soap: it is "cooling" to the eye and the brain, and so brings health.

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6.33. If there is a pain behind the eye, the patient lies on his back with eyes wide open. The best cure is then to squirt five to ten shots of milk directly from a buffalo's teat into his eye: failing buffalo's milk, cow's milk can be administered in the same way. (Only very gentle cattle can be trusted not to step on the patient.) A simpler but less effective treatment is for a woman to squirt five to ten shots

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of breast milk into the eye. The pain will disappear if this treatment is carried out three times, in the morning, the evening, and the next morning.

CORNEAL SCAR OR VITAMIN A DEFICIENCY (*bella kannu*) 752 (278)

6.34. A white mark may appear on the conjunctiva if a wound caused by a stick or grit is neglected for a day or more. The therapist grinds one or two seeds of coriander into a fine powder. This is put into the corner of a fine, clean, cotton cloth and the pinched-up corner dipped into woman's milk or failing that cow's milk. The patient lies flat on his back with his eyes open. After the milk has soaked into the powder for one minute one drop is squeezed from the cloth onto the white spot. If the wound is small this will be quite enough to cure it; but if necessary, treatment can be given two or three times. No more then three drops should be needed even for a large wound: one should be applied in the morning, another in the evening, and the third the next morning. As the drop is placed on the eye a helper holds the eyelids open. If not administered properly the coriander may cause the eye to sting. After receiving a drop the patient must lie still for two or three minutes with the eye closed. He must not rub it even though tears will exude.

6.35. Another treatment for a white spot on the conjunctiva involves a bud of the hill gooseberry. The therapist holds it in her clenched fist and blows through it into the patient's *ear*.

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6.36. In a more advanced case of whiteness on the conjunctiva, there is another treatment that involves a certain bud. This one is about 3 mm in diameter, and must be collected when it is very small, along with a few leaves, from a fairly dry area: if it is gathered in a swampy place it will have no curative effect. The identity of the species is a professional secret that a therapist will not disclose till on her deathbed. Were she to tell anyone, her treatment of this advanced form of white spot would never work again. (I was only able to determine that the plant looks something like oats.) The therapist keeps the

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bud and leaves in her mouth for a minute of two, and while keeping them there blows through her clenched fist into the patient's ear (as in 6.35), on the same side of the head as the afflicted eye; but she does not blow on the eye itself. This is done three times, and after each blow the therapist asks, "Is it gone?" In serious cases the white mark does not clear up in one day: then this treatment is given for three consecutive days, early in the morning before the patient takes any food or drink.

164 [753] [776] ACUTE CONJUNCTIVITIS (*kaṇṇu noi*)

6.37 Yet another eye disease is called "eye goddess," and since it is considered the work of a goddess Badagas behave as they do when the smallpox goddess comes. Unlike the above-mentioned eye diseases, this one is contagious. The eyes become red, they weep, ache, and swell up. When the patient awakens he cannot open his eyes because a white pus sticks the lids together. If he tears them open the eyes will itch and be more troublesome still. Many people, I am told, have blinded themselves by attempting to open the lids.

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The eyes should be washed very gently in the morning with the soft leaf of velvety patchouli or related species (*kodaṅgu*) and some cold water: this will open them. A medicine is administered on three different days, chosen from the following: the third, fifth, seventh, ninth or eleventh days from the start of the illness. The therapist puts into some fresh water a number of white dead-nettle flowers, as many in fact as the number of days since the illness began. He then splashes the water and flowers with his fingers onto the brow of the patient; splashing it as many times as the number of dayss ince the illness began. Following the third occasion on which he does this, he must add leaves of the nim tree to the remaining water. This water must be at body-temperature, and is used to wash the patient's entire body. Should the water be too hot the therapist must simply wait till it has cooled enough, and may not add cold water to it. After this bath the patient does

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not dry himself, but instead sits covered with a cotton cloth under which some incense is burnt to create a thick smoke. After this a cure can be expected. During the entire course of the illness the patient must eat only the "cooling" foods such as milk and fruits, and must abstain from things like chili. Also he should use no woollen material for clothing or bedding.

Mouth, Nose and Throat

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6.38. Teeth are not filed in any way nor are cavities filled. If a tooth is loose, it is pulled out with the fingers, or else an attempt is made to cure it by rubbing it with ginger. There is a proverb which warns, "The son who is spurning his father is no good; the tooth that is protruding from the lips is no good." As we have seen (5.27), a woman will try to bend a child's misshapen tooth into position with a cloth.

PYORRHOEA 164
(*ma:dua*)
(753)
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6.39. The major mouth disease is quickly detected because a very strong odour is noticeable even from some feet away. Although mainly a children's disease, it can affect adults. Badagas believe that "germs" eat the teeth: the disease can rot them, and a sufferer cannot put anything in his mouth because it is so painful. The mouth therefore has to be made insensitive so that he can eat. A local anaesthetic is therefore made from galls found on oak, obtained from a tree in the plains: they are over 2 cms in diameter and are ground up with woman's milk or cow's milk to form a paste, which is then rubbed all over the mouth cavity.

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The medicine for *ma:dua* is made from two fruits that can now be bought in shops. One is the unripe *anila kae* and the other nutmeg; they are ground together in equal amounts and mixed with woman's milk or cow's milk or else water. This solution is taken early in the morning, before breakfast, and again before the evening meal. If

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Thorax and Abdomen

ASTHMA (*kemmalu*)

6.48. A cure for what is now called asthma is to obtain a few lumps of tiger flesh and roast them. The meat is then eaten, perhaps in milk.

Another cure for asthma involves swallowing a paste. This is made by powdering a seed of the sacred—and imported—mock olive and mixing it with water.

6.49. If one wears a string of these same mock olive seeds round the neck and across the chest, he will ward off a disease which attacks the heart. This procedure will at the same time allow the person to continue speaking right up to the last moment of life.

TUBERCULOSIS (*so:ga ro:ga*)

6.50. If one occasionally touches the small seeds of the sacred basil, he will not be attacked by what we call tuberculosis. This is in Badaga called *so:ga ro:ga*, "making the body fall away," and is treated like a fever (cf. 6.67). It cannot however be cured, and the patient dies in five to ten years.

DYSPEPSIA (*iguḍa*)

6.51. Adults with indigestion or a lack of appetite are given a medicine of a whitish clay, which is heated in a fire until red hot, and then dropped into some gingelly oil. When the clay is removed from this it is powdery, and perhaps a half teaspoonful of it is administered to the patient.

PYROSIS (*surusuru*)

Heartburn is generally cured by having the patient eat a half or whole block of crude sugar, or drink some milk.

6.52. To cure a pain in the side the sufferer takes a plate and puts a roughly made lamp of cowdung on it. This is filled with clarified butter and a lighted wick floats on that. The wick is covered with a drinking glass, and after a while the flame goes out and a vacuum is created. When this vacuum becomes broken and the glass can be picked up from the plate the pain should disappear. If it does not do so immediately, it will certainly go away within three days.

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and Irula women had *belle*, whereas today only a tiny minority of them do.

People with either of these diseases are generally weak and unhealthy. *Su:le* can be recognized by the watery sores, but *belle* cannot be seen because it is "inside the body" of men. A therapist can tell from a person's face whether he has either disease. The remedy is to eat opium, as often as three times daily. In earlier days Badaga youths were encouraged to have relations with a variety of women so that they would catch *su:le* early in life; for if it first attacked them when much older and weaker it could kill them. Since they deliberately tried to spread the disease in this manner, it tended to be more widespread among the Badagas than among other tribal groups.

Nowadays it is a great disgrace if a person is known to have a venereal disease and he is shunned socially. The seriousness with which it is treated is adumbrated in the proverb, "A debt is like a woman's disease (*su:le*)." In general the disease is still brought into the community by men who have had relations with non-Badaga women, such as urban prostitutes. If a man knows that he is infected he avoids infecting his wife.

It is said that a particularly virulent form of the disease can only be cured by intercourse with a donkey. If the donkey dies immediately afterwards, the man is presumed cured. In one village where I stayed a man borrowed the washerman's donkey, but was dismayed to find that it did not die.

STERILITY

6.62. Aside from venereal disease, the only other serious reproductive problem for Badaga is infertility, as we have seen (3.17). To understand this, it must be stated that they do not traditionally connect conception with the fertilization of an ovum, but see it as an effect of satisfaction in the minds of the couple. Badagas do believe men can be sterile, but so rarely that only one man would

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842 be that way for every thousand women who are. It is not assumed that a women is barren if her first marriage produces no children, however: the couple should divorce and both remarry, in order to have children with other spouses. By this procedure it will be seen whether a person is really infertile. Badagas believe infertility is caused by a [754] curse, or by sin done in one's previous life, or by [783] the sins of one's ancestors. In some villages a [837] childless man would allow his brother to have [835] coitus with his wife in an attempt to gain offspring.

842 I was unable to identify any definite medicine for infertility. A barren girl was inspected nude by 759 a therapist and told that "she was intended to be a male and would never have childern." (Sometimes the therapist could tell from a girl's face if she were incurable, and told her so.) Nonetheless 842 the female therapist later on (around 1930) made 759 a positive suggestion for curing the barren girl: she should get hold of a small boy just after he •755 had defecated, and while his penis was in a some- 839 what erect state; she should then gently suck on his organ. This was probably a reflection of the [827] idea offered somewhere in the Puranas that the semen of small boys is in vaporous form; later it becomes liquid; and in old age it has become solid. It is highly doubtful, however, whether any Badagas believe a woman can be inseminated through the mouth.

842 This particular therapist did have a medicine 759 for infertility, but apparently died with her secret long before I worked in her villages. She did know of a plant that cured the affliction, and once mentioned to a daughter-in-law that the cure was very difficult and that she had very high standards for its proper performance. In administering the medicine she also told women they should love their husbands to the utmost, for they were usually barren simply because their minds were not

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753 776 796 782 were sacrificed by beheading directly in front of the Ma:riamma temple. Two features of this ceremony are of interest: one is that the soil was ploughed at that point so that the blood of the victims flowed into the earth; the other is that a curtain was drawn in front of the image of Ma:riamma while the beheadings took place, lest the sight of all the blood should so arouse her thirst that she would go on the rampage through some villages, seeking the death of her human victims. A few years ago the animal sacrifices ceased. The symbolism suggests that Ma:riamma is a type of Hindu earth mother concerned as much with the fertility of the soil as with the control of disease: its control is obviously linked to the conservation of agricultural labour, from an ecological viewpoint.

753 •755 776 If a person gets smallpox it means that he has done something impure. For this reason a therapist must pray to Ma:riamma for forgiveness of the patient's sins. The goddess is thereby pleased, not offended, if the patient recovers; yet if she is very angry she may still cause further deaths.

751 177 (799) For a very long time the Badagas have relied on inoculations against smallpox. Probably the first person to administer these was the German missionary G.H. Weigle, who in 1846 vaccinated about 700 Badagas, "as a result of which a whole village gave him false names, for fear of magic" (Basel Mission 1846: 48-49; Eppler 1900: 79). This represented a remarkable change of attitude, for the situation up to that time was that, "...many refuse to take any remedies themselves, or to allow any to be administered to their relations, and thence arises their antipathy to vaccination. The supposition is not as to the nature or inefficiency of the means, but it is the fear of offending the goddess..."(Harkness 1832: 117, note). There is some evidence that the large-scale festivities in honour of Ma:riamma were adopted by the Badagas only towards the middle of the nineteenth century,

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no improvement is seen the patient is then taken to the specialist. A dose of this medicine is made from a quarter tumbler of juice ground from the root of Indian pennywort or a related species (*kudure koa:ku*). It is drunk once a day, early in the morning.

A specialist who lives in the village of Kallatti treats this disease differently. He uses a rod, most probably of iron, the end of which is made red hot. In bad cases he burns men with it on both sides of the head, at a point roughly one-third the distance from the eye to the ear. For female patients he burns the body on particular spots, one of four of them at a time. These are on the abdomen, both above and below the navel. But in some cases both men and women may be burnt on the legs or the hands, or at the back of either shoulder, close to the neck. Butter or, less commonly, clarified butter is then applied to these burns and is kept on them for seven to ten days, until they have healed. For the first five to seven days after the burning a leaf of the same *kudure ko:ku* is laid flat over this butter each day and tied into position. Later the butter can be applied without the leaf.

My therapist-informant did not know the cures for all the different types of *ka:male*. One type, called *u:ta kam:ale*, affects vision and causes the entire body to swell up evenly. Other types prevent women from having further pregnancies. In *kattu ka:male* the only symptom is that the eyesight fails. *Hacce ka:male* affects someone suffering from extreme "cold", generally people of light complexion. The specialist at Kallatti treats all type of *ka:male* with basically the same medicine, made from a tree bark, but he gives different instructions for talking it according to the type of disease.

POLIOMYELITIS (*doḍḍa gaiy*)

7.10 "Big Wind", though not recognized as epidemic, is one of the most feared of all diseases and the most complicated to cure. The Big Wind cannot be distinguished at its onset from Small Wind (6.71): in both the patient has a fever accompanied

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entire body, and with the medicine wrapped in one of the other pieces of cloth dabs this all over the body—through the cotton covering it, which is believed to protect the patient from scalding. The medicine is very hot. It is permissible for someone else to help the therapist apply it to the patient. Even the genitalia and the soles of the feet are dabbed in this manner. The dabbing is done more carefully on the side which is paralyzed. After this procedure all the solids in the cloths are put back into the pot.

If the Big Wind does not cure easily the therapist can find the actual place where the god touched the patient. He then presses the solid medicine firmly on that spot as well as dabbing it over the rest of the body. The place is located by grinding sandalwood with water to make a paste and smearing this all over the body. It dries everywhere except where the god has touched the body. In mild cases however the point of touch may be only the size of a pinhead, so that it would not be seen even when the paste was on the body. If the touch was somewhere under the hair it would not be seen by the sandalwood test either; for a woman patient's head cannot be shaved, and a man's is generally not either. Under such circumstances there is nothing to be gained by using the sandalwood test. If the therapist finds and touches the spot where the god touched the body, he can feel that it is very cold. If the spot is on the arm it can affect the "nerve" so that the whole limb is affected.

After the last curing session of the night the therapist rubs some of the solid medicine on the roof of the patient's mouth, after it has been allowed to cool a little; and just before doing that he gives the patient one or two ounces of the liquid from the pot, which he drinks. There is thus no need to rub the solid medicine on his tongue. At this time the therapist may also pour the hot

nely" there. It is recognized that a girl may feign possession, perhaps to gain attention, perhaps to rush off wildly into the woods followed by a young man intent on taking care of her desires while there.

Ghosts are ultimately driven out either by throwing the host person bodily into a river, or by inducing the ghost into a lock of her hair, which is then cut off and either nailed to a tree or corked carefully into a bottle and buried away from the village so that it cannot escape again. The following cases offer a fair range of Badaga exorcism practices.

8.3. CASE 1. In 1962 a boy, aged 18, failed the S.S.L.C. examination and committed suicide by hanging himself. He did this because he had told all his friends he would certainly pass, and so could not face them.

Another man and his 16-year-old wife slept in a separate house from that of the man's parents. One night when they were on the way to this house the ghost of the suicide entered the girl. He was not related to her, but was in a distant "sister's husband" relationship to her husband. A month after the ghost got into her, it became active.

In May 1963, the ghost was driven out by a Badaga exorcist from another village. He is reputed to know spells strong enough to kill people, and some strong enough to remove curses laid on by other magicians. In the present case, once the ghost became active in the girl, she went into a trance and claimed to be this person or that; always a male, though. It was because the people thought she was feigning possession and would not believe her that her husband brought the exorcist. At the first seance he told her she was bluffing; and so then while in a trance she identified some of the people present, even though she was newly married to this village and might not have known everyone there. After that the people believed she had a ghost, and the ghost "started telling the truth."

Every night for a week the exorcist held a seance with her, for which he came from his village especially. A crowd of some 50 or 60 villagers, including the girl's close relatives, was always present. These people came because it is the customary thing to do, rather than because they were curious. During the seance they sang folksongs, but not hymns; and on the last day they were thanked for coming and singing. The exorcist gets little for his work: on the last evening he is usually given a loincloth and a cloak. Each seance began around 2200 hrs., and lasted for two or three hours. It was

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always in the husband's house. First the exorcist would draw a chalk pattern each evening, and the girl would sit in front of this. The villagers present would begin to sing; and then suddenly the girl would get up and start dancing. She performed no recognizable dance-step, but simply jumped around the room. On the first night the ghost revealed his true identity through her mouth. Then the exorcist asked the ghost why he was troubling the girl; and the ghost replied that he was still young, and had anxieties and needs. He then explained to them what he wanted. He had never had a chance to drink arrack (see 2.6) while he was alive; so now he wanted arrack, cigarettes and some food. Then the relatives asked the exorcist to remove the ghost. The man first said some spells, and the villagers sang. They were not able to understand his spells, although they were in Badagu, for he always muttered them under his breath. This process of chalk pattern, singing, dancing and spells went on at every seance.

The final seance also began at 2200 hrs., and after the pattern was drawn and the initial spell uttered, the girl was given arrack to drink, smoked some cigarettes and ate some food. After this the ghost bade farewell to his friends, and regretted having committed suicide. Then the exorcist took her off towards the highest hill, to a point more than a kilometer from the village though still within its boundaries. This was selected as being a distant place to which people would seldom go. A group of some 20 youths accompanied the pair all the way to the final place, singing as they went. Once they reached this point, the girl fainted and fell down. No medicine or water was given to her; but the youths watched as the man said spells over her. After that the girl got up of her own accord. When they were leaving the house, the ghost had promised that he would make some sound as a sign that he had left the girl's body: now he was heard to whistle from a point a few hundred meters away from where these people stood. Next the exorcist cut a piece of hair from the girl's head. He tied it to a nail and pushed this into the ground. Then he did some *pu:ja* to it, whereby the power of his spell was transferred to the nail. The belief is that the ghost cannot cross the iron nail.

In returning to the house the party took a different route. Once they reached there the exorcist entered the house first, and then stood on the door-step and threw cold water over the girl before she entered. This was to test whether the ghost had really left her.

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Apparently it had; for were this not so the girl would have started dancing again. Since that time the ghost has given no further trouble.

8. 4. CASE 2. Lakshmanan's best friend was Lingan, an age-mate who lived in the same village. In 1951 Lingan studied very hard for the S. S. L. C. examination, but was the only one in his group who failed. Very dejected, he burnt all his school transcripts and notes while on the way home; and soon after entering his house, when his mother went out, he hanged himself from a rafter. A neighbouring old lady happened to come in and found Lingan hanging there: she came out shouting, and then Lakshmanan and some others rushed in. Lakshmanan lifted Lingan up while another person cut the rope. They sent for a doctor, but by the time he arrived the boy was dead.

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Lingan's neighbour was Lakshmanan's cousin, an adolescent girl whom Lingan had been fond of. Shortly after his suicide Lingan possessed her; and when Lakshmanan came home for the college vacation in 1952 he went to see the girl who was supposedly possessed. She grabbed Lakshmanan by the arm, and the spirit in her spoke through her mouth, using her voice. The ghost, in talking to Lakshmanan, did not say it was Lingan, and Lakshmanan disbelieved it anyway. Then Lakshamanan and the ghost began to talk about certain secrets that supposedly only the two of them had known about. One thing was that they used to go out of the village together to smoke; so now Lakshmanan said, "How about a smoke?" The ghost agreed and asked for some Scissors cigarettes, Lingan's favourite brand. Lakshmanan gave a cigarette to the girl, who supposedly had never smoked, and told the ghost to smoke it as he used to. The girl then went through Lingan's special routine of taking a match from the box and lighting it, using one hand only, and then once the cigarette was lit blowing numerous smoke rings.

By now Lakshmanan felt that the spirit must be Lingan, and the ghost then admitted that he was. The ghost proved his identity by saying the complete Gettysburg Address in English. This was something the two boys had studied for the S. S. L. C. ; yet the girl, who mouthed it perfectly, herself spoke little Tamil and no English at all, for she was illiterate! Lakshmanan then said, "How about the other things we learnt for the S.S.L.C.?" The ghost then continued with all of Tennyson's "Daffodils" and Sarojini Naidu's poem "Bangle Seller," in good English.

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It was decided that a Badaga priest in the village would exorcise the spirit. Usually, as in this case, the ghost is told it is going to be exorcised, and is then allowed some time to think over what things it wants. The ghost gives a list of its favourite things—food, clothes, books, etc.—and these are all brought for it from the market. In this village, after the spells have been said, the possessed person is taken to a place on the road outside the Mission Bungalow, where there is a large rock; and the ditch there used to be very deep. All the things needed by the spirit are thrown in this ditch, and nobody ever takes them away. Many are even afraid to look at the things. No matter how valuable the goods, even beggars know that they belong to a ghost. It is at this point in the exorcism that people do whatever else the spirit requests, such as dancing or singing. The spirit is then induced into a hair of the possessed. That hair is next cut off and put into a bottle that has previously been chosen by the spirit, and into which a nail is also placed. The hair is fixed tight in the neck of the bottle when the cork is jammed in, and then the part of the hair still protruding from the neck is cut off. The exorcist holds the bottle up and without shaking it, watches the nail constantly jiggling up and down. This movement of the nail is the test to check that the spirit really is in the bottle. The possessed person immediately becomes normal. Finally, the bottle and the loose piece of hair that has been cut from its neck are thrown into whatever place the spirit has previously chosen.

This was the process used in the exorcism of Lingan's ghost. Lakshmanan, the informant, witnessed it all because early in the exorcism the ghost had insisted that Lakshmanan accompany him to the end.

8.5. CASE 3. A Badaga in one village was a very powerful exorcist; but although he had learnt the art no one knew about it. One night a Tamil was busy exorcising a ghost in that village, when the ghost told him, "You are only a beginner, you can't drive me out. Only the man outside can drive me away."

The Tamilian looked out and only saw a local Badaga man; so he doubted the ghost's word, but checked with it again and then brought the Badaga inside. This man then told the Tamilian that the latter was only a raw recruit; that he should be content with the Rs 6-4 he had already earned, and should not come to the hamlet again to exorcise.

Then the Badaga got the story from the ghost. Its name had been

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Karuppu, and it was from the city of Tiruchirapalli. It had come up from the Plains on a rice lorry, and then wandered around until it got inside a girl. The ghost said it was doing no harm, and wanted to stay there; but the Badaga insisted that it should leave. The ghost asked if it could stay with the exorcist until it could be put on a lorry going to the Plains. Then the Badaga thought to ask the ghost to check how many other ghosts were in this same village. The possessed girl sat quietly for two minutes while the ghost went round the village. Each girl in the hamlet who had a ghost then jumped up and started dancing. Meanwhile the ghost reported back to the exorcist that there were five other ghosts. He replied, "Bring them here." Then the five possessed girls of their own accord all left their homes at the same time and came to that house in a state of possession. It was night-time. The Badaga drove all of the ghosts out, but kept Karuppu knotted in a handkerchief in his pocket until later he got a chance to throw the handkerchief on a lorry going down to the Plains. After that all of the possessed girls were normal again.

On another occasion a man in that village had to go home late at night, and was afraid of meeting ghosts. This same exorcist therefore gave him three stones to carry, telling him that as long as he held them the ghosts could not possess him. Later, on the way home, he was followed by a female ghost. She came right up to his house with him, although he threatened her all the way. After entering his door the man threw the three stones at her and she disappeared.

8.6. CASE 4. A middle-aged woman appeared to be possessed by a ghost: she had the signs of its being in her for nearly a year. An exorcist meanwhile came to the village as a therapist to try and cure another sick girl. As he was not successful people thought that girl had a ghost in her. They therefore held a seance at which many women were present, among them this middle-aged women. During the exorcism the patient showed no signs of a ghost, but the older woman did. The exorcist then said a spell and "stopped" the ghost in the woman. He told her that there was a ghost in her; he had caught if for the moment, but she must prepare to have it finally removed one day. From that time until the final exorcism there was no other sign of ghost or sickness in this woman. Her own husband said that she had had a ghost in her for the last five years; yet after the final exorcism he decided it was not a ghost at all but "something wrong inside."

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wrong inside."

This woman had in fact married three or four husbands in the proper manner, and divorced each in turn. She then ran away with a young man. After three months she left this man, became a Christian, served in a local Church, then was transferred to Bangalore and left the Church. She was not heard of for five or six years and then turned up one day in her natal village with a small boy. She said she had married a Tamilian in Bangalore who was now outside the village and was afraid to come in. Somebody went to bring him while the woman begged her relative not to say that she had ever been married before or had become a Christian. To this, he agreed. The three of them finally settled in a small town.

Generally a man exorcising a ghost makes a chalk pattern, and puts flowers and incense on it. In the exorcism of this woman, however, this was not done. She sat in a chair during the session, which lasted from 0745 to 0900 hrs., facing a table on which was a large picture of Murugan (Subramaniam) and some other small ones too. The exorcist sat on another chair beside her. On the table were a lime fruit, some camphor and also a plate with raw yellow rice and sacred ash on it. Ash marks were also on the four corners of her seat.

To start with the man told the ghost: "You promised the other day that when we made *pu:ja* you would go away. Now you say you aren't going." The ghost then said it would go away about 0800 hrs. At about 0815 hrs. the ghost was still arguing with the exorcist that it was not yet 0800 hrs. Then it said it would leave, but first the man must give it a picture of the Tamil god Murugan. The exorcist gave the picture to the woman. Then the ghost said it would break the glass; the man replied, "Take all the frame, too." "No, it's my will and pleasure," replied the ghost. And so the man and the ghost argued on. There were some signs that the lady was not really possessed. When her *sa:ri* fell down at the front, she put it back up on her shoulder. Had she really been possessed, she probably would not have known that it had fallen, I was told. At another point the man took a stick and threatened to hit her if the ghost would not leave her. The woman replied: "See, my brothers are here to protect me." This also suggests she was not really in a trance. At another time when the man threatened her she came over to an aunt, dragged her up, and then sat down in her place beside another relative and said to him: "See, he wants to hit me, and you aren't

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saying anything." The man remained quiet. Then the exorcist rubbed his hand around the plate of rice, and while staring at the woman said some spells. Next he told her to come back to her own seat, and she did. Then he again told the ghost it was past 0800 hrs. and the ghost had not yet left. It replied that it would go if it were given music, hymn-singing and a picture of Murugan. Then, on a relative's suggestion, the proceedings were postponed. That evening they held a *pu:ja* in one of the houses, with this same exorcist in charge. He gave a small religious picture to the ghost, and it went away—if indeed it was ever there!

Other Mental Disturbances

8.7. Cases of insanity are rarely observed in Badaga villages, not because of their infrequency but because the victims are usually killed off by their relatives with an over-dose of opium hidden in some food. In 1970 a madman hobbled with chains could however be seen in one village, but this was very unusual. Insanity is thought to be caused by a demoness, *Ka:teri pe:* who possesses a man, takes his food from him, will not leave him, and ultimately brings exhaustion by not letting him rest properly.

8.8. Witchcraft accusations are common in many parts of India (Epstein 1959), but among the Badagas this kind of paranoid behaviour does not occur *within* the community. Witchcraft is nonetheless present, but it is only the Kurumba and Irula sorcerers and occasional Todas (Rivers 1906: 262; Francis 1908: 144) whom Badagas accuse of it. This displacement of anxiety onto members of another tribe probably helps reduce it effectively. In one recent case a newly married man was apparently experiencing sexual frustrations with his wife: at any rate, he claimed that very often as he slept with his wife at night in a room off the veranda a Kurumba came, separated the two, and built a low brick wall in the bed between them. Such a thing could occur, it was believed, because the Kurumbas had the power to open a bolted door from the outside. The only known way to curtail a Kurumba's powers is to either knock out one of his teeth or cut off his hair (and probably burn it). Important in the containment of witchcraft is the fact that each cluster of Badaga villages appoints a Kurumba sorcerer to protect those Badagas from the sorcery of his fellow tribesmen. His concern for the welfare of his Badaga hosts is expressed symbolically by the key role he plays

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Ayurvedic colleges that can be found elsewhere in India: Ayurveda is for them an alien medical system, taught in a foreign language beyond the Nilgiris.

There do seem to be some differences between the practices of male and of female therapists. Most obviously, women deal with gynaecology and obstetrics, while men deal with illnesses like Big Wind which involve baring a male patient's genitals. Men also tend to treat skin diseases, defective limbs, deafness, etc., while women tend to concentrate on all the illnesses affecting women and children. Otherwise therapists of either sex do treat patients of either sex, insofar as propriety will allow. The manner of treatment varies somewhat, however, in that male therapists often use spells (*mantras*) in their curing, whereas female therapists rarely if ever do, but instead rely more on herbal medicines.

10.5. When a person contracts an illness he first goes to a therapist in his own or a neighbouring village. If that person cannot effect a cure the patient, perhaps escorted by his therapist, goes to seek the advice of a more distant therapist who is noted for his abilities with an appropriate treatment. Only if this specialist also fails with the patient does he go to a Western or an Ayurvedic doctor, who usually lives in one of the towns and is a non-Badaga. The above is not however an invariable route for the dissatisfied patient, for there are other factors that may guide him differently. Thus if he is closely related to a therapist in a distant village, or a Western-style doctor in town, he may go to that person first. If there are young college-educated people in his family, they may encourage him to go directly to a hospital. Or if the treatment recommended by a Western or Ayurvedic doctor is too costly, a poor person may be obliged to continue his treatment at the hands of a Badaga village therapist; or he may go to a Kurumba specialist instead. There is thus considerable variation in the management of an illness.

There is also some variation in payment practices. It is usual to give some small fee, if only as a courtesy, to all therapists, male and female, for any kind of treatment. Kurumba specialists now expect a substantial 100-200 rupees for a treatment. K. Sithamma however was an example of a therapist who was told by her eldest son that, because of their family's respectable position in society, she should not accept any fees whatever; this was also the case with her mother-in-law and with some others. Sithamma felt

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754 (*c*) Illness can also be the work of non-Badaga shamans or
177 sorcerers, who can send a bad spirit into the victim. As with ghost
753 possession, it has to be removed by an exorcist who knows the
[755] appropriate spells. It is said that in earlier days every Kurumba who had learnt sorcery was allowed to try his power sout. This would be decided by a formal council of the tribe, who would give the novices a stipulated period, usually one to four weeks, during which the young men could test their abilities. The Badagas would then be warned of what was to come, so the villagers could take every precaution and stay indoors at night. Each youth was permitted to kill one man by sorcery during this period. Deaths in the [961] Badaga community were also occasionally ascribed to the sorcery of Todas (Rivers 1906: 261, 635); and Kurumbas say there are many Badaga sorcerers too.

828 (*d*) Emotional and mental problems are otherwise said to be the
753 result of sins done by a man's ancestors, whereas bodily diseases
783 are in most cases an effect of the patient's own sins, as in the case of ulceration cited below (see *i*). Thus if the wealthy man becomes poor, or a poor man becomes rich, he attributes the change of fortune to the deeds of his ancestors. If a man lacks appetite, or does not enjoy his life or possessions, then he has a sickness resulting from the sins of his ancestors. There is no cure for it; and so if many cures are attempted and none works, it is thereby known that he has an illness caused by ancestral sin. Leprosy and mental diseases are seen as ultimately caused by that same sin. (As an explanation for the therapist's impotence this is of course very effective.)

732 (*e*) Often we find frequency of an infirmity being explained as
826 an effect of "blood." For example, in one family there are two girls and five boys. One boy and both girls are normal, but three other boys are deaf and dumb, and one is fairly deaf but can talk. As the situation was explained to me, "there must be some wrong in the parents' blood." This is perhaps still an allusion to ancestral sin.

753 (*f*) More immediate causes of some illnesses lie in one's diet or
261 bodily activities, even in uncleanliness. Among the dietary problems there is a general malady called *so:lu*, "over-heat," caused by eating insufficient milk products. Eating bad food, or eating too quickly, can also bring unfortunate results.

753 (*g*) Over-exertion may dislodge the colon or an artery and bring
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